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HON. S. S. COX

ON THE

BEAUTIES OF DIPLOMACY.

Bastiat relates that happening to be in Madrid he went to the Cortes, whom he found discussing a treaty with Portugal, for improving the navigation of the Duero, which flows between Spain and Portugal. A deputy rose and said: "If the Duero be made navigable, transportation will become cheaper. Portuguese grain will be sold at a lower price in Spain, and a formidable competition to our national industry will thus be established. I oppose the project, unless the ministry so increase the tariff as to create a balance of trade." The Assembly found his argument unanswerable.

"Three months after," continues Bastiat, "I was at Lisbon. The same question was submitted to the Senate. A noble hidalgo remarked: 'Señor President, the project is absurd. You guard at great expense the banks of the Duero to prevent Portugal being invaded by Castilian grain, and at the same time you wish, likewise at great expense, to facilitate this invasion. I cannot be a party to such inconsistency. Let our children receive the Duero as we received it from our fathers.'"

In the United States, while physical science is striving to make ocean navigation surer and safer, and mechanical invention is striving to render transportation cheaper and swifter, our legislation is working to oppose and nullify these efforts. Is it wise to expend capital to remove natural impediments, and then to spend capital and labor to replace them by artificial impediments?





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BEAUTIES OF DIPLOMACY.

SPEECH

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OF

HON. SAMUEL S. COX,

OF NEW YORK,

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FEBRUARY 9, 1876.

"A youthful, vehement, exultant, and progressive nationality. The hopes, the boasts, the pride, the universal tolerance—the gay and festive defiance of foreign dictation—the flag—the music—all the emotions—all the traits, all the energies that have won their victories of war and their miracles of national advancement."—RUFUS CHOATE.

WASHINGTON.

1876.

Government printing office.

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SPEECH
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. COX,

The House, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 1594) making appropriations for the consular and diplomatic service of the Government for the year ending June 30, 1877, and for other purposes—

Mr. COX said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I think the House and the country should be congratulated upon the unanimity with which this bill comes from the Committee on Appropriations. If I understood correctly the honorable gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. SINGLETON.] who reported it, there was no dissent in the committee as to its provisions. If I am wrong in that statement, I can be corrected.

This is a bill for retrenchment. It is one of many; for many of similar import are to come. It proposes a reduction of some \$436,000 upon the appropriations of last year for foreign purposes.

It was said by the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] the other day that our average expenses for diplomatic and consular service for many years had been about \$1,300,000. In 1859 these expenses had grown to \$912,000; and the average since that time has been about \$1,200,000. To be more exact, let me quote the exact figures:

Our diplomatic and consular expenses for the year ending June 30, 1859, were only \$912,130; for the year ending ending June 30, 1860, they were \$1,047,745; for the year ending June 30, 1861, they were \$1,158,380; for the year ending June 30, 1862, they were \$1,260,544.34; for the year ending June 30, 1863, they were \$1,235,839.89; for the year ending June 30, 1864, they were \$1,260,544.34; for the year ending June 30, 1865, they were \$1,354,100; for the year ending June 30, 1870, they were \$1,110,734; for the year ending June 30, 1871, they were \$1,041,347.

Last year they were about \$1,400,000. I do not count the extraordinary sum, \$1,929,817, that was embraced in the bill to pay the British mixed commission awards. This year we propose a reduction of at least \$436,000. It should be and it is done intelligently. I deprecate the remark made yesterday by my honorable colleague [Mr. WOOD] that this reduction is without wise consideration. Sir, it has had careful examination. Why, Mr. Chairman, in my experience in this House for over sixteen years, I have never known an appropriation bill to be presented with more prudence and heed. We are acting upon authentic information given in advance. This is apparent from the speech as well as the report presented by the honorable gentleman from Mississippi, [Mr. SINGLETON.] He gave us a report to accompany his bill, upon which he spoke wisely and well. He even gave us a map of South America to illustrate the proximity of those Spanish American states affected by the provisions of the bill. In addition to that, we have had the studious examination of the Appropriation Committee to show most amply the relations, commercial and otherwise, we bear abroad, and especially to the South American states.

THE PROPOSED REFORM.

The reform proposed is succinctly stated in the report of this committee. I quote from the report to show the scope of this retrenchment:

In these [South American] republics, as will be seen, the bill recommends a very considerable change in diplomatic representation. Following the example established by the act of July 11, 1870, combining the representation at Paraguay and Uruguay, and the act of May 22, 1872, placing all the Central American states in the charge of one minister, the committee have concluded that no important interest would suffer by the dropping of two of the ministers now in Government service, and combining the diplomatic representation at Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador in one person, to reside wherever, in either of those states, the President may direct. The representation in the states of Chili and Bolivia is also combined, thus dispensing with another salary of \$10,000. Paraguay and Uruguay have been attached to the Argentine Republic, saving another salary. The minister to Greece has been dropped as unnecessary, and in lieu a fourth-class consulate established at Athens. The minister to Hayti has also been thought unnecessary, and a fourth-class consulate established at Cape Haytien in lieu thereof. The bill discontinues two envoys extraordinary and four ministers resident, forty-four consuls and officers of lesser grade, reduces the salaries of the ministers at Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia \$3,500 each; those at Spain, Mexico, Austria, Brazil, Japan, and China \$2,000 each; that of the minister at Italy \$4,000, and those at all other places, with the exception of the minister representing the United States at the Central American states, \$1,000 each. Many consuls have been thrown into a lower grade, and other reductions have been made. The total of this change has resulted in a reduction of the bill \$435,837.50 below the appropriation of last year, and within a trifle of the same amount below the estimates from the Department upon which the bill is based.

'It is no answer to this bill, and its provisions for retrenchment, to say that it destroys our commerce or shackles our navigation. That is not a fair nor a logical argument. In no single particular, as will be shown before we get through with this discussion, has there been any abridgment in the consular or diplomatic service which does not run hand in hand with commerce and navigation and which does not subserve the best general interest.

I know the bill strikes in certain places. This report shows exactly how much our ministers are to be curtailed, how much their salaries are to be reduced, and how many consulates are to be abolished. You will find it all in this record, and I need not refer to it in detail. It also shows where we strike the "contingencies," and the "loss by exchange," and the item as to seamen to which the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] adverted, and as to which the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] gave such a conclusive reply, based on proper data.

HOME ECONOMIES.

This retrenchment is entitled just now to the consideration of this House. At the present time we are not quite well enough off at home to maintain our foreign relations abroad in such a superb manner as we used to do; nor can we, nor ought we to, ape the manner of other nations in the splendors and excesses of our diplomatic display. We can well understand why, owing to our greater commerce, in 1859 or 1860, or even before those years, we might have paid more for this service. But when you, sir, send your boy out from your home, while you yourself are not very "well to do" in your domestic circumstances, can you afford to have him live quite so well as if you had a good exchequer? Although gentlemen may say that we are not paying our ministers enough according to the old standard, are we not paying them enough according to the standard of domestic, if not of foreign, economy?

It is not alone because we would save millions by this policy of retrenchment. But we have a duty to do in showing where millions

by the hundreds, might have been saved in the past ten years of prodigal rule. More than that. It is a part of the process of summoning before the high and popular court of impeachment those who have squandered our resources, and who did it at a time when the war-fevered and war-worn patient was endeavoring to convalesce. In order to prescribe remedies for restoration and to make a diagnosis of the ills wherewithal we were afflicted, we must omit no scrutiny. We must stop at no persuasive call, however honeyed, to desist.

The gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. GARFIELD,] who made a masterly address to us, pregnant with figures and sense, has told us that he knows how hard is the task of cutting down appropriations. He speaks from experience. He knows the "local pressure" of interested parties who desire to "swell appropriations." He also confesses that every Executive Department here "tends to enlarge the field of expenditure within its jurisdiction." He commends the resistance to such pressure which is proper to be made and which our committee is making. Why, then, does not he throw his sword into the scale in favor of this gallant band of committeemen? He itemizes certain points where reform is or will be proper. There is the fortification bill, public works and buildings, rivers and harbors, and many civil establishments in Washington "overgrown by the work thrown on them by the war." He would reduce these; ay, ten or fifteen millions below the appropriations of last year. Ah! indeed; who was the chairman of appropriations last year? What party did he lead when we plead against abuses? "Work thrown on them by a war" ten years ago ended; and is he just beginning to find out, under a new rule here, that ten or fifteen millions per year might have been saved? A hundred and fifty millions not saved! Were they squandered since the war? If, then, it appears as the sequel, when the House shall have concluded its money bills and the Senate shall have received or rejected our reforms, that forty millions a year might have been saved during ten years, what sad words of tongue and pen will be his "might have been." Four hundred millions squandered in ten years! What is there to show for it? A hapless people living beyond their income and devouring their capital; want; lack of labor; depression of business and perpetual dread of panic; and worse!

Was there ever a time when economy was so needed, so demanded by popular depression and misery? The gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. SINGLETON] told us that his own section was so overtaxed and overburdened with debt that it was almost impossible for them to obtain the necessities of life. This is too true all through the South. How is it in the West? My friend from Ohio [Mr. VANCE] handed me a paper with an account of the "bread brigades" forming in Lawrence County, Ohio, in which there is a sad picture, only equalled in its terrible reality by what is daily and hourly too frequent in the great metropolis I represent. If in Mississippi the once beautiful plantations are "now neglected and growing up in sedge-grass," what must be our condition when the cry for "bread" makes the peninsular part of Ohio an object of sympathy and beneficence!

THE SHERIFF'S FLAG.

If in the South the "sheriff's flag" floats above the hammer of the auctioneer of estates and men and women are losing their properties under such compulsory processes, what must we think of prosperous Pennsylvania? A Philadelphia paper insists that the condition of the laboring class in that city and in all parts of the country is deplorable; that from fifty thousand to seventy thousand persons formerly employed at manufacturing in Philadelphia are now out of work.

A distinguished member from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] has published the statement that thousands of his constituents, including men, women, and children, theretofore employed in manufacturing, had been practically idle since 1873, and that so dreadful and protracted had been their poverty that they were grateful for the crusts given to beggars, and that thousands of able-bodied workmen had been forced to become tramps, seeking for food they had no opportunity to earn. These statements, detailing the wretched condition of the unemployed workmen of Pennsylvania, are confirmed by Senator WALLACE. I notice also that sixty thousand miners of coal are thrown out of employment in Pennsylvania.

Is New England better off? Why, even there they are laboring on half time and at the lowest scale of wages.

THE FANCY ECONOMISTS.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. RANDALL] was reminded by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] not to boast when he put on his armor, like him who taketh it off. The gentleman [Mr. GARFIELD] is a little interested, his *amour propre* is at stake, I fear, in keeping up the taxes. Was he not the author of many former bills? He and his party, which for ten years would not touch the currency to resume and voted down propositions to economize, now all at once become urgent in their dire dilemma that we should resume and retrench whatever betides, but they are equally opposed to us when we report bills in the precise "shape" in which they come. Take any shape but this—of retrenchment! "Our honor is at stake," sighs the member from Minnesota, [Mr. DUNNELL,] and he too is in "entire sympathy" with reform; yet if we reform, alas! commerce will be ruined, or never arise from its ruins. Thus mourn other Jeremiahs; and so every bill for retrenchment is opposed on some pretext or another.

The unanimity of sentiment on the part of the opposition, who have spoken under the lead of the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] in favor of economy, is only surpassed by their concerted failure to sustain it. Their mere words are "apples of gold in pictures of silver." They are not *nutritious*, however beautiful. Hear a few of their sentiments! The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. MONROE] says that "the object of this bill is retrenchment. I am most sincerely in sympathy with that object. I expect often to vote that way. But, sir, *this* bill presents an unpromising field!" He went further and gave us his definition of economy. He would cut off any branch which was not worth the money. Words—words—words; sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. Then his colleague [Mr. GARFIELD] takes up the brass, and I mean no disrespect in using the expression. [Laughter.] He draws the bees to his political assembly by saying: "O, there should be no politics in such bills! Do I not sympathize with the committee in their laudable efforts to cut down expenditures?" And then he lands to a pitch of irony the splendid economy for years of the State Department! It is the old story of the traveler out West. He meets a native on the Reserve—a skeleton, worse than the fancy photographs of the prisoners recently alluded to: "You seem, my friend, to have the fever and ague in these parts." "O! no, sir," replied the man, shaking from crest to foot and yellow as ochre—"No, there's none-around-here, but plenty of it—in the next county!" It is the old milk-sickness story. It is just a little further on! [Laughter.] These friends of economy cannot, like the man who ate his soup with a fork, get enough of it in the abstract, but they are

not so hungry for the concrete reality! According to the proverb, by too large a grasp or embrace of the larger ideal, they take such a furious hold of the total thing that they fail to hold anything in detail.

ECONOMY—JUST NOT NOW.

It will be curious to watch how their platoons will fire into our re-trenchment bills. We have already had their attack on the West Point bill; but they had not the courage to call the ayes and noes on that. And the people, ay, and the very officers, now applaud the measure. When it comes to this bill, a new set of assailants, and, I regret to say, fortified by the business tact and influence of my colleagues, [Messrs. HEWITT and WOOD,] appear upon the scene. But I venture to say that there will be no flinching upon the part of this majority on this measure when the debate is concluded and the scandalous abuses of the consular and diplomatic service are fully displayed. Soon we will have the fortification bill, and the opposition guns will thunder upon that. Then the river and harbor bill. That will appall the boldest. Then the war appropriations. Thundering Mars will roar till Janus will open his temple door. Neptune will sound his conch-shell from the very deeps, till the resounding shores echo its protest against the Navy bill. When the Indian bill appears reduced to an honest diminution, the war-whoop will sound from Missouri to where rolls the Oregon, which used to hear no sound save its own plashing.

The burden of these loud complaints against these bills is that salaries are reduced. While the general shrinking of wages and values is going on everywhere, the clamor here is that large salaries secure good services. The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] struck this note: "You only want rich men for office; you would shut out those who can live without private fortune; you would establish a plutocracy." Then my colleague [Mr. HEWITT] subjoins his practical remark: "In my extensive business I would pay men better for similar service;" and then my other colleague resubjoins his exclamation: "If this bill saved twenty millions I would not vote for it."

It might be well, in answer to one of those gentlemen, [Mr. HEWITT, of New York,] to say that, as a plutocrat of the loftier and gentlest type of benevolence, he might well afford to pay for his work what the poverty-stricken and panic-bedeveled people of this country ought not to pay. What he can afford in his business this people cannot for their administration. The cost of living abroad is not the measure of foreign salary, but what is left at home to pay. Suppose, as the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] argued, that in ten years the cost of living abroad has doubled, yet has it not more than doubled at home? Who pay these salaries? The plutocrats; the rich who travel far countries for to see, and whose protection in travel and trade is the main object of diplomatic agency? No; the poor and needy. The rich men of this House, abroad, or in commerce, do not know and feel the burden. No one but the wearer can tell where the shoe pinches. Gentlemen cannot tell this who clothe their thoughts and their feet in slippered, luxurious ease, and feel no twinge except the luxury which comes of gout and prosperity.

EARLY UNSALARIED HONOR.

"We cannot have good service abroad except on large salary;" is that your argument? Need I point you to our earlier statesmen, from Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and others, down to our own selfish era. But my colleague, [Mr. WOOD,] whose lineage by our Directory is

that of a Philadelphia Quaker, has said that Franklin honored this country, as minister to the court of France, dressed in plain attire, and on large salary. Is it possible that he did not know the history of that mission of Franklin? He went out to France in October, 1776. When he left Philadelphia, this is recorded of him by his biographer, (Sparks, volume 1, page 416:)

As a proof of Franklin's zeal in the cause of his country and of his confidence in the result, it may be stated that before he left Philadelphia he raised all the money he could command, being between three and four thousand pounds, and placed it as a loan at the disposal of Congress.

But it is further recorded of him that he served substantially without compensation; ay, more than that, that he denounced the ambition and avarice of public men as baneful to the state. I read from Sparks, volume 1, page 517:

It had long been an opinion of Dr. Franklin that in a democratical government there ought to be no offices of profit. The first constitution of Pennsylvania contained an article expressive of this sentiment which was drafted by him. One of his speeches in the national convention was on the same subject. "There are two passions," said he, "which have a powerful influence in the affairs of men. These are *ambition* and *avarice*; the love of power and the love of money. Separately each of these has great force in prompting men to action, but when united in view of the same object they have in many minds the most violent effects. Place before the eyes of such men a post of *honor*, that shall at the same time be a place of *profit*, and they will move heaven and earth to obtain it. The vast number of such places it is that renders the British government so tempestuous. The struggles for them are the true source of all those factions which are perpetually dividing the nation, distracting its councils, hurrying it sometimes into fruitless and mischievous wars, and often compelling a submission to dishonorable terms of peace. And of what kind are the men that will strive for this profitable pre-eminence through all the bustle of cabal, the heat of contention, the infinite mutual abuse of parties, tearing to pieces the best of characters? It will not be the wise and moderate, the lovers of peace and good order, the men fittest for the trust. It will be the bold and the violent, the men of strong passions and indefatigable activity in their selfish pursuits. These will thrust themselves into your government and be your rulers." * * * He thought the pleasure of doing good, by serving their country and the respect inspired by such conduct were sufficient motives for true patriots to give up a portion of their time to the public without a pecuniary compensation beyond the means of support while engaged in the service. In his own case he had an opportunity of putting these principles in practice. All the money he received as president of Pennsylvania for three years he appropriated to some object of public utility; and if the whole fifty years of his public life are taken together, it is believed that his receipts in the form of compensation or salaries were not enough to defray his necessary expenses.

What if his presence were to instruct these two members, [Mr. RANDALL and Mr. WOOD,] both natives of his Quaker City. To which would he give a smile; to which a frown? At first flush he might say to one, "Sir, your presence in any assembly, your dignity, your ability, the admiration you deservedly excite is sufficient compensation for one so rich in lands and bonds." To the other he would say, "Good! Read Poor Richard! Be just, be thrifty, be trustworthy; and a grateful people will add to the honor of your birth near the Hall of Independence with a crown of approbation; for is not a good name better than riches?" And to all of us he would say: "You are living in evil times, when men in public station make money and salaries the touch-stone of honorable service for their country. In my days it was considered 'decorous and sweet even to die for one's country.' In your day, it is considered decorous and sweet to live for one's country, and to live well, and gather from the brow of labor its sweat of pearl to decorate the fantastic gaudiness of greed and luxury."

UTOPIAN IDEAS.

Mr. Speaker, it is said by Sir Thomas More that when the foreign ambassadors came into Utopia the people of that perfect realm

laughed at the bedizenment and jewels which glorified their persons. Benjamin Franklin, whose thought drew lightning from the cloud, and whose diplomacy broke the scepter of tyrants, must have read this satire, when in his snuff-colored dress and with his unsalaried state, he was made the welcome guest of the greatest of the Old World, while he kept his trust and faith to the people of the New World.

BRITISH POLICY.

What is the argument to justify large salaries for diplomatic and consular service? Why, Great Britain pays highly and does a large business over the sea and over the world. To be sure, Great Britain has an inexorable grip on these volcanic Spanish American republics, or upon most of them. I read to-day in a report made by a distinguished gentleman from Illinois, [General HURLBUT,] who was our minister to Bogota, that the English government had a mortgage on the customs-dues of the republic of Colombia amounting to 85 per cent. He wrote home that unless there was some repudiation of that mortgage upon the customs-dues there would be a revolution in that country. Our Isthmus route is daily imperiled by English supremacy. There are I know large fields for enterprise in Spanish America and in the Pacific. I do not deny the statements made by the gentleman; and I would prefer if anywhere when retrenching, not to cut down in China and Japan any consulate already existing. But as to mortgaged Spanish America, what is the argument in favor of keeping up our diplomatic expenses to a high figure in those republics? The gentleman [Mr. MONROE] gave us a table. In that table he showed the area of those countries; he showed also their imports, exports, receipts, expenditures. He also showed the population and the public debt. What for? To induce us to add salaries to our consuls? That is beautiful argumentation. The area of a country is to determine our diplomatic and consular arrangements! If that is the case, why do we not have a minister to Iceland? Why not a consul seated amid those great volcanic wastes where no man lives and where the lichen would starve? Why do you not have diplomatic accommodations with the interior of Africa or in the Desert of Sahara? If mere area is to be made the test, you will find plenty of room on our planet.

As to population, to be sure there is one-third of our own population in these Spanish American republics. It numbers sixteen and a half millions, but most of it are Indians. They are not a producing class; they are not the class of which we buy or exchange. They give us alpaca wool, guano, niter, ores, dyes, and other stuffs; they give us medicines and hides; but we have just as many consuls there to-day as we need for our commerce. That is the essential point.

CONSULS AND COMMERCE.

But, Mr. Chairman, gentlemen mistake when they say this is a bill to revive commerce. Bills of this kind cannot revive commerce. Consuls are incidents only to commerce. I will tell you soon where and how our commerce can be revived; why your diplomatic and consular system, instead of reviving commerce, amounts to nothing in this regard. It does not draw commerce along with it; it is hardly the jolly-boat in the wake of the steamer. It is only a bubble in the wake of the steamer of commerce.

What you want in order to make commerce and revive shipping in this country, is a fair revenue law. Your taxes should be removed from the ingredients which enter into our wooden and iron ships. Thus

you make it the interest of our people not to invest in bonds which pay no taxes; but to invest in the vehicles of oceanic and distant ventures, which will pay more than the income on untaxed bonds. The competition of wooden and sailing vessels with steam and iron vessels I do not propose to discuss. The Baltimore clipper is a memory. India and China and their trade is greatly occupied by other nations. The old "Indiaman" is a myth. Comforts go with steam and dividends follow comfort. The simple truth must sooner or later appear, to wit: that the incidental protection to other interests has murdered our carrying trade. The internal-revenue tax of two and one-half cents a pound on cotton helped to cripple us as a sailing people. But the crowning crime which has put gyves on our commerce is the tax imposed on all the ingredients which enter into the construction of ship and steamer. This, sir, is a bounty to the foreign producer and builder. It kills our competition. Worse than the depreciation of currency, it deters capital and destroys enterprise. If you will not by your bad tariffs let us buy ships abroad, then let us by good tariffs buy the materials to make ships at home. Then you will revive commerce, and navigation, and shipping. I see my friend from Pennsylvania on the alert. He always is, when I mention ship-building. I know we have some enterprising ship-building in Pennsylvania. As we approximate in this country to the price of iron abroad, even without the aid of Government subsidy, but with a fair, honest revival of business and lower tariffs, we may again have our old revival of ship-building. Then navigation and commerce will begin a new century.

But never until our tariff is modified, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, will we have our olden ship-building. We have lost it already. I have the statistics here to show this in detail. Our tonnage to-day is only about eight millions of tons. Great Britain, that used to be our only rival, has sprung up to twenty millions of tons. I did not intend to read the statistics which clearly show what I have stated, but if the House will indulge me I will briefly give the details on that point referred to by one of my colleagues yesterday, in a comparison of business between the United States and Great Britain. In Great Britain the exports and imports amounted last year to over five hundred and fifty millions pounds sterling. Of this I am credibly informed. I know in previous years it was a little over this statement. In 1872 it was £608,000,000; but for the present year it is \$2,750,000,000. The imports were not much in excess of the exports. In the United States there was but eleven hundred millions of this kind of prosperity, making a difference between the two countries of sixteen hundred and fifty millions.

In Palgrave's Notes on Banking, page 50, the imports and exports of England in 1819 are placed at only £69,000,000 sterling. In 1844, £144,000,000; but in 1872 what had they risen to? To £608,000,000. If they have fallen off any since, according to the former computation, it is because of excessive production and the consequent plethora.

I have already shown you what is our tonnage as compared with Great Britain. I should be more exact as to American and foreign tonnage. Our commerce is in question, and our foreign affairs are in the quandary.

The following table shows the amount of American and of foreign tonnage entered at ports of the United States for the years named:

Years.	American tonnage.	Foreign tonnage.	Excess of American tonnage.	Excess of foreign tonnage.
1830.....	967,227	131,900	835,327	.....
1840.....	1,576,946	712,363	864,583	.....
1850.....	2,573,016	1,775,623	797,393	.....
1860.....	5,921,285	2,353,911	3,567,374	.....
1861.....	5,023,917	2,217,554	2,806,363	.....
1864.....	3,066,434	3,471,219	.....	404,785
1866.....	3,372,060	4,410,424	.....	1,038,364
1868.....	3,550,550	4,495,465	.....	944,915
1869.....	3,402,668	5,347,694	.....	1,945,026
1870.....	3,486,038	5,669,621	.....	2,183,583
1871.....	3,742,740	6,266,441	.....	2,523,704
1872.....	3,711,846	7,094,577	.....	3,382,731
1873.....	3,612,631	8,033,087	.....	4,420,456

We thus see that from 1861 to the beginning of 1874, a period of only thirteen years, there is a change against the American shipping of 7,277,819 tons. Now our carrying trade costs us millions. It is reckoned at eighty or a hundred millions, which goes to England, France and Germany for the Atlantic freights and fares alone.

But there are more facts of value for study and reflection. In 1860 the total American tonnage which entered British ports was 1,747,651 tons, the total British tonnage entering our ports being 1,136,364 tons. But in 1870 the American tonnage entering the British ports was only 479,670 tons, while vessels flying the British colors entering our ports during that year measured 2,778,823 tons. Herein we have greatly retrograded; England has greatly increased.

COMMERCIAL SUPREMACY OF ENGLAND.

Now, how did Great Britain get this advantageous power? When did it come to her? It came from her policy, her wisdom. Not before the repeal of the corn laws, not before her reciprocity with France, not before free trade was fixed there; for before that time, during six years, England took off almost as many taxes as she imposed.

But I must be more accurate: The taxes imposed by Parliament during that time (1836-1841) were £2,161,227. The taxes repealed in the same time were £2,131,303. During this time the postage was reduced to a penny. That much was off, and we know the result. Did revenue increase? Were expenses lessened and receipts increased? The revenues diminished nearly a half million sterling. Did the national debt decrease? No. Discontent came; Chartist arose. Then free trade came and corn-laws were repealed. It was the triumph of Peel, Cobden, Bright, and Ebenezer Elliott. But 1852 saw the consummation, and England then began to see through her mists and fogs her way to fiscal freedom. During the six subsequent years, or rather, to take a better era, from 1860 to 1866, the taxes imposed were £3,263,215, and those repealed were—astounding fact!—£19,209,863. Eighty millions of our gold dollars of a difference; eighty millions of taxes reduced under liberal policies over the imposition of taxes. Then England leaped forward under some magic fiscal Magna Charta. The world wondered, and Cobden and Chevelier and the unselfish and rational giants of economic thought everywhere received apotheosis.

I say here that the British taxes, imposed six years after their free trade, were £2,263,000 sterling. The taxes that were repealed were £19,210,000 sterling. In other words, we have a difference of £16,000,000 sterling, or more than \$80,000,000 of taxes repealed or reduced over taxes imposed or augmented; and the result was gratifying to all the world, and especially to the British exchequer. It was by free trade, by a liberal policy, by allowing all the world to trade with her, and Great Britain to trade with all the world, that she made this magnificent change and this great prosperity. And until we do as England allowed her citizens to do—buy our ships where we please, or allow our people to build ships without restriction and without prohibition of the articles which enter into the ships—we never can reach the degree of prosperity in the shipping interest which we had in 1859 and 1860. Moreover, Mr. Chairman, allow me to say that some of our best ship-builders agree as to that. I have a letter, which was published, from Donald Mackay, the great ship-builder of Boston, who said that if he had fair play in the taxing of commodities which enter into ship-building, then he could again have his ship-yard ring with its olden industry.

TARIFFS AND COMMERCE.

But the main reason I have for dwelling on this subject now is that I may answer the gentleman from Minnesota, [Mr. DUNNELL.] He said—(and he argued very astutely for a man who is about to seek a new election) that our tariff bill did not tend to retrench in one sense, but it levied more taxes in another; and he called us to an account on this side of the House for that. He mentioned the tea and coffee tax, and the silk tax, and some other taxes. He asked me to respond to him. I will give his own reasoning on that subject, and then I will respond to him.

When I go to my constituency and say to them, "Gentlemen, we have reduced the expenses of the Government," they will say to me, "That is all very well; but have you reduced this indirect taxation?" Of course I will answer, "O, yes; we did reduce it." They will ask me how, and I will tell them the simple story how we did it—the democratic House, I mean, for it will not have my vote. I will tell them that we have cut down the tariff on silks and silk dress-goods from 60 per cent. *ad valorem* to 40 per cent. *ad valorem*. They will sit in mute silence—

These interesting and intelligent constituents will sit in mute silence when the gentleman makes that statement. No wonder they will sit in mute silence at the audacity of such a statement—

but will ponder in their minds how that tallies with the theory that the luxuries of life shall pay the higher duties.

SILK AND SMUGGLING.

Will they if they are intelligent? Well, now, let us look at the silk business for one moment. That involves the revival of commerce; for I say you cannot have that except you do take off your taxes in a revenue way. Why, sir, there is a man now in New York in Ludlow-street jail whose name is Lawrence. He has been put there for smuggling—smuggling silks, which are easily smuggled, being very valuable and small in bulk. He has stated—and it has come out in authentic form with respect to some of our best merchants who bought from him,—he has stated that he made contracts, or always could make contracts, to bring silks and silk goods into New York for 13 per cent. on the cost price. Well, what does he do with them or what is done with them by the men who bring them in? Why they sell them—a thing not very creditable—they sell them to merchants who are reputable, and then they sell them, and they pay 12 per cent. So there

is 30 per cent. gained on the goods by the smuggling. When the duty is 60 per cent. on silks there is a premium on rascality of 30 per cent., as the gentleman from Minnesota will see. Now, if we reduce the tariff on silk goods to 40 per cent. it takes away the incentive and inducement to smuggling, and we on our side of the House can say to the gentleman's mute constituents, all of whom or some of them at least have silk dresses in their homes; we can say then to the gentleman's constituents when they sit mute, when they are pondering about these luxurious silk dresses, that we took away the incentive to smuggling by fixing the tariff so that honest merchants can trade in New York as importers and as wholesale dealers and retailers. And then we will say, or rather we will insinuate in a quiet way, that after their own Representative got all the facts of the case, he voted against that tariff on silk to help rascality in New York.

Mr. DUNNELL. Will the gentleman allow me to ask him one question?

Mr. COX. Very well, sir.

Mr. DUNNELL. How much revision of the tariff will it require to do away with all the rascality in New York? [Laughter.]

Mr. COX. Well, about as long as the tariff-customs duties are collected by the gentleman's own party. I refer him to his own collector and President Grant & Co. [Laughter.] I will not go any farther West. [Laughter.]

BREAKFAST.

Now I want to say to my honored friend from Minnesota, [Mr. DUNNELL,] for I love to debate with a man so courteous and pleasant and who is merely seeking information for his constituents, I want to read to him what we are proposing in the tariff bill; and first I will say that if we do raise the duty on tea and coffee a little by our tariff, we will take care to cut off enough of the tariff in other respects where your bounties come in and where your gratuities are to make up the added duty on tea and coffee. Sir, the gentleman raises the old cry of the cheap breakfast-table. Now, we have disposed of that several times. Perhaps the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. DUNNELL] knows that the present tariff taxes the spoon, the salt, the dishes, the table-cloth, and the table itself. We may reduce the tariff on many articles, and if we do put a duty on tea and coffee, we shall then give you an honest, good breakfast-table on a purely revenue basis, without bounty, and invite you to come to take breakfast with us.

NO SINS OF OMISSION.

But the gentleman thinks that we are not in earnest about this tariff bill. You will see about that before the session is over. Before we go further I will say that I shall be guilty of no sins of omission. I will tell him where we propose to cut down: Cotton dresses from 61 to 30 per cent.; spool thread from 81 to 40 per cent.; cotton yarn from 60 to 40 per cent.; bar-iron from 40 to 26 per cent.; wire from 54 to 32½ per cent.; hoop-iron from 55 to 36 per cent.; saws from 40 to 27 per cent.; sewing-machine needles from 47 to 22 per cent.; steel from 40 and 50 per cent. to 30 and 32 per cent.; screws from 60 to 37 per cent.; the poor man's iron pot from 45 to 32 per cent.; lead from 45 to 22½ per cent.; cast-iron piping from 50 to 35 per cent.; wool from 50 and 51 per cent. to 25 per cent.; woollen flannels and blankets from 90 to 47 per cent.; woollen cloth from 67 to 47 per cent.; common alpacas from 70 to 50 per cent.; clothing from 53 to 45 per cent.; carpets from 70 to 45 per cent.; bunting (the dear centennial flag) from 112 to 48 per cent.

I know that it is unpopular with some people to save indirectly. I know that a man in Minnesota might sleep in cold winter weather with half a blanket with the prospect of getting three, but I think he would rather have two now rather than the prospect of a dozen in the future, or rather than have a tariff which gives bounties and subsidies to the prosperous, and does not give revenue. I have a list which I can show the gentleman which shows that where \$100,000 were collected as duties upon certain articles which went into the Treasury, a million of dollars go outside as bounties; but I need not argue against bounties.

I would ask my friend from Minnesota [Mr. DUNNELL] whether he has not voted for subsidies and bounties and all that sort of thing? I know that is his record, and therefore I can make no point on him for inconsistency when he votes for bounties under the tariff. He is not my man for that fight. Does he not vote for all such devices? Does he not vote for railroad and other subsidies? Why, sir, you are obnoxious all around on the question of subsidies and bounties. But we propose to make revenue and not give bounties. We would cut down marble from 120 to 40 per cent.; gun and blasting powder from 60 and 58 per cent. to 40 and 24 per cent. And with this explosive article I close the list for the present, as by this time the gentleman's theory must be blown up higher than Thomas's infernal machine has blown his victims in Bremen.

It may be asked what reference this tariff talk has to the business before the House. How does it concern the diplomatic bill? Gentlemen have argued that we are destroying commerce. They pretend to be anxious to revive it. They would do it by giving certain salaries to consuls. If you mean to revive commerce take off the bounties we now pay to selfish and greedy people, and give fair interchange of commodities. Let the people North, South, East, and West buy in the cheapest markets of the world, as we do among our States. Give them a fair show all around the world, and then we can take your southern and western cereal and cotton products, send them to European markets, and bring back something to help in time of need.

FREE SHIPS AND THEIR FRIENDS.

I do not know whether the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. DUNNELL] was in Congress in 1872 or not; I think he was not. I have looked up his record upon that point and I cannot catch him. I think he was not here in 1871.

Mr. DUNNELL. After March 4, 1871.

Mr. COX. In March, 1871, a bill was brought in here for the purpose of giving free registry to iron vessels of two thousand tons burden and over that might be bought abroad. It was just at the beginning of the Franco-German war, as you may remember. President Grant sent a message to Congress asking us to permit these vessels to be bought and placed under our flag. It obtained the assent of this House. There was a large number of republicans for it. I do not think the name of the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. DUNNELL] is recorded on either side or as being absent; I do not know how he voted. But we did carry that measure in the House and it dropped out somewhere between the House and the Senate in the last days of the session. What was the result? When that war broke out there were twenty-seven great German steamers, built upon the Clyde, lying at Hoboken. Their owners were willing, as the French navy was then powerful on the sea, to have them placed, temporarily at least, under our flag. What for? So that they could bear our cereal products of the West to Europe.

Mr. KELLEY. Did not that debate occur on the last day and in the last hours of the session?

Mr. COX. It was in the morning of the 4th of March, 1871.

Mr. KELLEY. So that the bill did not drop out somewhere between here and the Senate.

Mr. COX. I know it dropped out.

Mr. KELLEY. It dropped out with the Congress.

Mr. COX. And you voted against it and made a good speech against it: I remember that. I made a speech for it.

Mr. KELLEY. I want you to tell the facts as they exist, and you profess to have examined the record.

Mr. COX. I will make it all right if I have made a mistake. What I want to say is this: On the last day of the session, when the bill was brought in here, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] opposed it; General Butler favored it, as a golden opportunity of statesmanship to obtain the carrying trade of Europe during the Franco-German war. Then and there this House, almost two-thirds republican, failed to respond to the demand of your President. It was the demand of economy and of enlarged intercourse with the commercial world. It was a demand, like that made in the Crimean war, which so redounded to the credit of our economy and to the profit of our people.

Mr. KELLEY. Then the House did not pass it. You are now stating the record.

Mr. COX. How is that? Just state that again.

Mr. KELLEY. You have just now stated that the House passed it, and yet you say the House did not pass it.

Mr. COX. It refused to lay the bill on the table; that was the vote, I think.

Mr. KELLEY. But the House did not pass it, as you have just stated.

Mr. COX. I believe that it did not pass it; but there was a test vote upon laying it on the table. I know it fell out.

Mr. KELLEY. Yes; and we all fell out together, for Congress expired.

Mr. GARFIELD. One of the opponents of that bill was the Representative from the city of New York, the gentleman's own colleague, Mr. Brooks—

Mr. COX. I know that.

Mr. GARFIELD. I greatly regretted to see him join in the opposition to the bill, for I was in favor of it.

Mr. COX. I know that; you have always acted in that line, and are one of the free-traders in this House, though you do not always tell it out.

Mr. KELLEY. Now, if you want to correct the RECORD, you must take out your misstatement that the bill passed the House.

Mr. COX. The idea I want to convey to the House is that the bill was favored by the House; that by a test vote the House refused to lay it on the table.

Mr. KELLEY. You said the House passed it; the RECORD says it did not.

Mr. COX. It is not material, the bill came up.

Mr. KELLEY. If it is not material, why did you state it? You do not always talk nonsense.

Mr. COX. I follow your example sometimes and say a great many superfluous things. [Laughter.] But I never interject things into your remarks when you speak, without your consent.

Mr. KELLEY. You do not?

Mr. COX. Without the consent of yourself and the Chair.

Mr. KELLEY. I cannot make any response to that.

Mr. COX. I know you cannot by the rules; for you are not on your feet. Now, what I wish to say and what I wish this House to understand is simply this: that there was an opportunity presented by the message of President Grant, and by the bill which was introduced, to give to the Western people an opportunity to ship their produce to Europe during the time of that war. That war interrupted as well the producing industries as the commercial relations of the countries involved in it. I call attention to the fact that during that war when there was a great call for flour, wheat, and corn from Europe this measure was not passed. The republican Congress adjourned, and even after the impressive speeches made by General Schenck and General Butler in favor of that bill, the commerce of the country failed to revive, by the acts of omission of the republican Congress, in despite of an urgent message from a republican President.

When I went home to New York City after that failure and saw those vessels laid up in Hoboken, I was satisfied by authentic proof, that there was a loss of \$20,000,000 or \$25,000,000 to the people of the West, who had abundant grain then to send to Europe to replace the lack of production of and by the nations who were fighting a great duello on the fields of Europe.

THE WORM IN THE AORN.

The point I wish to make on my friend from Minnesota [Mr. DUNNELL] is this: That to revive commerce you must either let us buy ships or build them. If you will not let us buy abroad, place a tax per ton on the ship and let it come in and raise our flag. But there is a difficulty. What? Because that lets in iron cheaper; and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KELLEY] and his protectionist friends fight that. This point reminds me a good deal of what I heard once when traveling in California. I saw some dead trees with holes perforated in them, and I asked my guide the meaning of them. He said they had been made by the woodpecker. I asked, "What for?" "To put in the acorn." "For food?" "Yes; for food." "Do the woodpeckers live on acorns here?" "No; they do not live on the acorn; but in winter a worm gets into the acorn, and they go for the worm." [Laughter.] That is the way with you gentlemen who are protectionists. You do not want a revenue tariff; you do not want free shipping; you do not want a revenue duty simply on tea and coffee. You will not stop smuggling by lower rates. You want, if possible, to raise taxes for protection, by bounties. That is the worm in the acorn.

DIPLOMACY AND RETRENCHMENT.

But, Mr. Chairman, I pass from that business and come to the more agreeable task of making a criticism, if I can, of our diplomatic relations. The gentleman from Ohio said he thought we might save \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000 this year. He was for retrenchment. O. they are always for retrenchment till the bill comes along that really embraces retrenchment. When the military bill comes along they will howl for retrenchment—on the next bill! When the naval bill comes up they are for the next succeeding bill. When the Indian bill comes up they will perhaps take scalps for retrenchment—on the next bill! And when it comes to retrenchment on appropriations for harbors and rivers then you will hear what some Englishmen call the "shrieks of

locality." On every bill brought here gentlemen will find that they are abstractly in favor of retrenchment while the great body of members on that side of the House, and some on this side, will be found voting the other way. Now, I propose to stand by my committee on this business.

UTILITIES OF DIPLOMACY.

But how are we treated abroad by our foreign representatives? I do not want to pay any more or any such salaries to men as are represented in our public reports. I except Mr. Marsh, Mr. Washburne, and several others. I have looked through and through this diplomatic correspondence to find some good or great thing for our edification as public men or for the advancement of commerce. I beg pardon; I picked up this morning a dispatch from Liberia, in which the eminent minister there says that they have had but one kind of currency in Liberia lately, that is the common copper cent, and that they propose to issue more money, paper money, and to make a loan of £30,000 sterling to float the government. But the government did not float, and it did not float on this copper-cent coinage. That is instructive. How much do we pay for this instruction?

One of our ministers from Brazil writes to inform the sovereigns of America that the emperor opened the Legislature "in more than usual state, wearing a white-satin dress, his cape of plumes, a long velvet mantle and crown, and bearing his scepter even in his coach." This is extremely fine reading for a novel or a newspaper, but it illustrates the fact that toilet seems to be one of the great objects of diplomatic observation. How much do we pay for that? Then we read in the recent published dispatches that the Emperor of China died of small-pox, and that our minister wrote back to his successor that all the American people were sorry for it. He also informs us, and it is a useful piece of information for the medical profession to ponder, that the two court physicians, because they did not cure him, had lost one row of their buttons and their peacock tails! But our minister had not a kind word for the poor doctors, for were they not bound not only to make their kow-tow to the celestial majesty of the flowery kingdom but to his two majestic mothers! Again, we learn from a South American minister how they cure bull's-hides there.

I find also a dispatch from Greece where there is a description, and a very fine one, of the Grecian mode of voting for members of the chamber of deputies. They bring a long thing like a stove-pipe and the candidates hold up the stove-pipe. The suffragan takes a white ball or a black ball, runs his arm way down so as to keep his secret from all mankind and drops in an "ay" or a "no" for one of the candidates who holds up the stove-pipe. [Great laughter.] That is interesting for civil-service reform! He says also that if one hundred nominate a candidate for the chamber of deputies the candidate can run his stove-pipe anyhow, and this favors the third party men everywhere. It would suit some of our friends like our honorable professor over there who gave us the maxim *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*. [Laughter.] If gentlemen cannot understand when a hand goes in that way, how it comes out in another way and elects some one whom nobody likes, it is only because it is too magnificent an improvement on our system sent to us from Greece at an expenditure of \$10,000 a year. [Laughter.]

CHINESE AMNESTY.

But, Mr. Chairman, there are other things to be learned. I will pick up our correspondence with China. It is a wonderful correspondence about the young emperor, Tung. He argues in this way—I will have

to read it because it touches something so near the other side. [Laughter.]

For more than ten years past, blessed with the counsels of maternal love, we have striven to reach the highest path. Happily it has been so, that wherever the armies of the state came, the [Taiping] rebels of Yueh (Kwangtung and Kwangsi) and the [Nienfi] banditti were vanquished and subdued before them, and the insurgents among the Miaotse and the Mohammedans in Yunnan, Kweichau, and Shensi have all been conquered and brought into submission.

[Laughter.]

Now that is pleasant reading, and I do love to read when we have to pay \$17,500 for information. [Laughter.] I especially commend to the gentlemen who have not shown any inclination toward amnesty this extract:

Tranquillity has been everywhere restored; but, though the miseries of war have ceased, the injuries and wounds of our people are not yet healed, and whenever we think of them it drives away all sleep and repose.

This seems to have been an occasion for a centennial amnesty in China. [Laughter.]

It is equally our hope that all our ministers and servants, both civil and military, in all parts of the land, will unite in public-spirited and loyal efforts for the common good, each zealously discharging his allotted duty, that thus they may uphold for our adopted successor a more and more glorious rule. If this be done, the cravings of our breast will be assuaged. [Laughter.]

That, Mr. Chairman, is one of the Confucian sentiments we learn which is really useful. We ought to pay for it a large sum. [Laughter.] I should like very much to go a little further into this book. Let me here ask the Chairman how much time I have left.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has fifteen minutes remaining of his hour.

Mr. COX. My friend from Illinois when he was speaking passed over to me a most remarkable document. I should hardly believe it to be genuine but for the authentic source—the State Department itself. Gentlemen say that there has never been an inquiry or investigation as to this particular diplomatic business. There never was such a handsome raking as this State Department has received this session by this democratic committee of investigation. It never had it before or since I have been here. It ought to have been done before, and you gentlemen on the other side of the House ought to have done it and received the credit for it.

BOKER AND BIJOUTERIE.

I know gentlemen will vote for the bill after they hear that for a certain treaty about Turkey and its minister of foreign affairs we have paid 54,781 francs. Now, what was it paid for? To corrupt Turkish officials; to obtain from them a treaty? Comment is useless to this House on such a scandalous outrage upon morality. It was paid by Mr. Boker to Safvet Pasha, minister of foreign affairs in Turkey, and his son and household. But what for? To make a treaty. Did you ever see that treaty? It has never been published. There is a reference to it in the President's message, but you cannot find the treaty. Our minister, Mr. Boker, paid to Safvet Pasha, minister of foreign affairs, according to this account, 54,781 francs for himself and other Turkish officials to run a treaty through the Sublime Porte. [Laughter.] Now, what does that mean? You honest republicans ought to understand it. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est.* [Laughter.] Just look at this item, the last one in this bill: "Four cake-bowls, round feet, style of Louis XVI, foliage-handles, with birds; four silver bowls, scalloped border, assorted to match center-

piece; four cast bay-trees, chiseled on the eastings; chiseled garlands; flat channel, chiseled, in the center a bouquet of chiseled flowers, gilt and gold bottom, 3,777 francs." The whole thing was "chiseled." [Great laughter.] Certainly it was; but I should like to know who else was chiseled. [Laughter.]

Now let us look at the other items. Let me read this French. I wish I could do it better, but I never could understand English well enough in this House. [Laughter.] If the gentleman will only remember his wrongly quoted motto, "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico est*," I will read him only one item to satisfy that motto. [Laughter.] Here is the bill rendered to our State Department from Mr. Boker by "*M. Mananian, fabricant joaillier, rue de Richelieu, No. 41, doit M. son excellence Monsieur Boker, Paris, le 6 juin 1875.*" [Laughter.] That means that Mr. Boker is excellent; and so he is. But his bill does not look so excellent. It amounts to 19,700 francs. And it is settled—"*Pour acquit, Paris, le 8 juin 1875, M. Mananian.*" Here are some of the items: "*Épingle de cravate, fer à cheval, pierres variées, 4,000 francs.*" Do you know what that is, gentlemen from the West? [Great laughter.] My friend from New England [Mr. SEELYE] knows what it is. It is a pin for a cravat in the form of an iron horse, with various stones set in it. [Laughter.] Four thousand francs. Nearly a thousand dollars for that locomotive, put as a breastpin in the cravat of a son of Saffet Pasha, the minister of foreign affairs. Perhaps he gave it to one of the houris in his harem. Here there is another item, "*3 boutons de chemise en brillants, 4,000 francs.*" That is, three shirt-buttons. [Laughter.] Yes, let me say boldly, three shirt-buttons. [Continued laughter.] How will our hard-worked mechanics and farmers like these items? Well, Mr. Chairman, gentlemen say that we laugh this bill out of court. We do not mean that. We simply mean to show up, after the modest and logical manner of the *reductio ad absurdum*, precisely how you have conducted the best-conducted Department in your Government. If this is done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry? If they can do this in a respectable Department, presided over by an ex-governor and an Ex-Senator from New York, a distinguished man, an honest man, and do this without accountability, what they will do in the Indian Department, God only knows. [Laughter.]

GREECE AND ITS DANCES.

Now, gentlemen, I will go to Greece, although there is hardly a grease spot left! [Laughter.] However, there is something very interesting in connection with Greece, which I would like to refer to. I do not think it has been exhausted altogether. The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] anticipated me a little, as I was the first man to find out the interesting letters which he has quoted. My friend Judge HOLMAN also anticipated me, but he did not find, read, nor comment on the most interesting epistles.

Here is one:

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Athens, March 8, 1875. (Received April 5.)

SIR: A magnificent ball took place at the palace on the 3d instant. On that occasion the American minister had the honor to be selected to lead a contra-dance with the queen.

A GRECIAN MINISTRY DEFENDED.

Now that is something that I like. It makes me wish to defend in one sense the minister to Greece. I will defend anybody that has been so abused as this minister. Why what do we not owe to Greece? Think of it! The land where "burning Sappho loved and sung," and all the rest of Byron's fine ode, which you, Mr. Chairman, rehearsed

in your boyhood. Think of Athens—the eye of Greece, and the Piræus, which has been called the “eyesore of Greece.” Think of the arts of war and peace which Greece illustrated two thousand years ago! Think of Marathon and Salamis, and the “ships by thousands” which used to lay below, but which do not lay around there at all now, especially with our starry flag at the mast! Think of Thermopylæ and her three hundred, of the Pyrrhic phalanx and Anaereon, Suli’s rock and Sinium’s marbled steep; and then, swan-like, die for love of Greece, after Byron’s draught of Samian wine! Think of the Acropolis. Think of those old heroes that modern Greeks name their children after—Eschylus, Thersites, Agamemnon, and Ulysses—never forget Ulysses, [laughter]—Epaminondas, and Pericles, and Sophocles, and Alcibiades, and Themistocles, and Euripides, and all the other DD’s belonging to the early days of ancient Greece. [Laughter.]

Yet, sir, as my friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] well said, our representatives, when they go to Greece, go to the tomb of departed greatness. Greece gave art, science, logic, and poetry to the ages. She is entitled to a minister from the United States of America, not on account of any special living people that are there, or any special commerce which they have with us, for they only send us, I believe, from two to ten thousand pounds of Zante currants every year; but Greece has a nomadic population of goat-herds, and we ought to improve on a certain kind of goat that we have in this country. [Laughter.]

IDEAL GREECE AND REAL AMERICA.

Is there here any man who will not assist us to protect and raise Greece to her ancient fame? Let him read Clay and Webster, if not Plato and Aristotle. Let him read the catalogue of the Homeric heroes! True, her streams are dried up, her soil barren, her olive-trees cut up by the roots for fuel, and her very grass made the food of her nomadic goats; but is it not Greece? Some cynic may ask before voting appropriations for our minister, who honors the dead past and the great heroes of that dead past, “What is Cithæra’s isle to the grasshopper-despoiled West? What is Milos, from whence the famous statue of Venus came, or Salamis with the fame of Themistocles, when Mississippi is under the ban and its plantations are overgrown with sedge-grass? What the Piræus, where Socrates questioned the sailors, or what the academy under whose olive-trees the divine Plato sat while the bees of Hymettus settled on his lips, when the Texas border is ravaged by greasers and American cattle driven to Cortina’s ranches by the thousand? What are Morea’s hills, with their golden and purple sunsets, when beyond our sunset, contractors cheat the Government and Indians on meat and flour? What the violet-wreathed city of Minerva, when in the great metropolis of New York, ‘farther west,’ the tenement-houses teem with skeleton starvelings? Let imagination paint in rainbow colors the verdureless and yellow isles of Greece and sing them again in Byron’s muse, but what are these to the demoralized and overflowed bacon of Alabama? When there is sung the glories of Bacchus and the mazy dance of the Bacchantes, who is to tell the mysteries of the crooked juices of the maize of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri?” [Laughter.]

And if, further, the same cynic asks why King George of Greece plays with his pet birds while the bandits prowl, plunder, and murder; if it is said that Greece is the land of ruins, brigands, and beggars, and the little kinglet of Schleswig-Holstein is held on his throne by other powers, may we not respond, “It is Greece, the Greece of Aristotle and Homer, to which we send expensive ambassadors?”

We ought to go further in our pride and protection for this grave of greatness. We ought to bring out of the ruins of the Acropolis some of those rare works of art that were left by Lord Elgin when he surreptitiously carried off so many to the British Museum. I plead as well for art as for the poor inhabitants of Greece. They ought to be in some way or other protected by our minister. [Laughter.]

SAMOA.

There are many new members here who probably do not know that two years ago we had an Executive Document, No. 54 of the second session of the Forty-second Congress, sent here by a Colonel Steinberger, who went to what is called the Navigator Islands. He was on a special mission from our Government. I do not know just what it was for. Perhaps there was a land job in it. *Omne ignotum pro mirifico*. [Laughter.] But he went out to these islands, and there he was soon hand and glove with King Lunalilo. He is now premier. There he is now, sitting under the bread-fruit trees, with the little monkey clinging with prehensile grip to their limbs, and he (I do not mean the monkey) wrapped around with the star-spangled banner of our country; only seventy-five hundred miles from San Francisco, eight thousand miles from China, and four thousand miles from Juan Fernandez! There our banner floats! [Laughter.]

O, how proud we were when we knew that our banner was floating over those basaltic rocks, washed by the waves as they rolled over coral reefs, with fishes among them of all kinds and colors! Then to think that away off, where no good man had ever gone, except some of the Botany Bay shipwrecked convicts to convert the natives to our religion—how beautiful it was in this centennial year to feel that General Grant had sent out Colonel Steinberger to bring those islands within our own influence and confederacy! If we can do so much for such people who are so far off, why not jump from Samoa sixteen thousand miles to Greece, and there revive through our diplomacy its ancient glories under our centennial tutelage. [Laughter.]

GREECE RESUMED.

In Greece we have a minister whom I like. I do not want to see him dismissed. He is a man that can dance a contra-dance with the Queen, and such a queen as Queen Olga—a grand duchess of Russia! And Russia may almost be called the leading power of Europe. We should be proud to think of such a minister! How did they dance it?

Hands across and down the middle,
To the tune of flute and the fiddle.

[Laughter.]

Mr. Chairman, I have seen much promiscuous dancing. Byron refers to the Pyrrhic dances of classic Greece, but that dance is obsolete. I have seen the Kabyles in Northern Africa with their strange swaying dances. I have seen some dancing in the aisles of this House that forcibly reminded me of the Dervishes of the East. I have seen some ravishing dancing by the señoritas of Seville.

But, sir, I pause. We have here a gentle professor, (Mr. MONROE,) at one time a very good professor at Oberlin, and a good man. He is or was a very religious man. He is well educated, but did he know when he was speaking for Greece and its minister the other day and quoting its history—did he know that our minister there had been dancing a contra-dance? Did he know that he was thus desecrating the old religious Presbyterian principles? No, sir, I repudiate such an idea. How can he vote against Greece in this bill? [Laughter.]

DIPLOMATIC EATING, AND DRINKING. AND DRESS.

Sir, the letter which the gentleman from Illinois sent up to be read was not exactly read by the Clerk in the proper tones. I proceed to read it through:

The spacious salons were filled at half past nine, and the festivities continued until half past five in the morning. The arrangements throughout were of the most admirable character. An elaborate supper for eight hundred guests was laid in the royal *salle à manger* and in the two large adjoining rooms, while the ministers of state and the diplomatic corps were entertained by the King and Queen in the beautiful private apartments of their majesties.

I would like to know what they had to eat on that festive occasion. What did they drink? Was it champagne or was it Burgundy? Did they have imported from Spain the rare Montillado? Did they have Rendisheimer, or did they have Hoekheimer or some other "heimer" from the Rhine? [Laughter.] What were they drinking? Was it the Vin D'Asti from Italy or Tokay from Hungary? What was their *menu*? Was it drawn from Apicius or the "mouth officers" of Lucullus? Was it inspired by Brillat Savarin or Delmonico? I think some man on the republican side of the House who is interested in retrenchment ought to have the question raised and inquiry made as to what was going on on that occasion in respect to the edibles and drinking; for I hold that the first duty of an American diplomat is to drink nothing but pure old American Bourbon whisky. [Laughter.]

Moreover, the utility of this wonderful diplomatic system which I am now defending, for I think it will prove of great utility, is the right to have inquiry as to the peculiar diplomatic dress our minister wore when he danced with the Queen of Greece.

Did he wear a spike-tailed coat; were his hands covered with graceful kids; were they of the Alexandrine pattern, and was his hair parted in the middle? [Laughter.] How was the Queen dressed? How did she manage that white-satin dress so as not to take the color from her cheeks, as represented in another interesting dispatch? We want to know all about it; how long was her train; and, if not, why not? [Laughter.]

ART AND GREECE.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I had the other day a little troublesome matter with my friend from Maine [Mr. HALE] as to which I wish to express my regret. I called him by an endearing epithet, but I felt a little bad about it. I went to the Corcoran Art Gallery on Saturday to relieve myself from this feeling.

I never felt the necessity of keeping a minister at Greece until I walked, thoughtful, silent, among the mutilated plaster casts of the Corcoran Gallery on Saturday. There were orators without lungs, statesmen without brains, soldiers without arms, and Venuses without robes. [Laughter.] Here was a *torso* Demosthenes and a one-eyed Homer; there was a Theseus garroting a spavined Centaur. The gentleman from Kentucky will understand what a spavined Centaur is. [Laughter.] All about were the fauns, satyrs, Apollos, and Dianas which Greece gave to art and art to the ages. Although the only art of modern Greece consists in the ransoming of travelers from brigands, and the farming out of revenues for the sick man of the Levant, and feeding goats. Yet that is a strong reason for a minister to look after art, brigands, and revenue.

If the British Queen—whose empire is based on the wisdom and the rocks of ages, and whose star and course of empire is eastward through her newly acquired Suez Canal to her hundreds of millions in India, and whose footsteps of empire are marked at Malta, Corfu, and in

the isles of Greece—could not protect her subjects from brigandage and murder within sight of the Acropolis, does it not become our duty, as the mighty limb of her magnificent trunk, to throw our shadow over that sterile soil where Marathon looks on the sea! Is not this our bounden duty this centennial year? Are we not inviting all the nations to our carnival of industry and jubilee of freedom. What would that interesting occasion be without a wooden horse from Greece within thy gates, O city of Brotherly Love!

Moreover, do we not reach out to other isles than those of Greece and other lands remote? Does not Massachusetts, through an honored son and an ex-member of Congress, give law to the realm of King Kalakana? Has not our vessel, with our proud starry flag, borne a Pennsylvanian, Colonel Steinberger, to the distant Samoan group of the southwestern seas, eight thousand miles from our coast, near the tropic of Capricorn? Has he not there eaten of the bread-fruit with the kings of the group and, a group of kings, made himself premier over their councils and king of the ex-Cannibal Islands? If we can do this in the isles of King Lunalilo, amid the ancient vesicular lava-beds, amagladaloids, and basalt, where, over coralline ledges, amid which disport fish banded and spotted with green and crimson, the wild waves are singing our everlasting glory-hallelujah; why may we not reach out from Pago-Pago and the slopes of Upolu and Savaii to the land where Homer ruled as his demesne and Sappho sang her sad refrain to the Ægean, into whose bosom she sprang and from whose bosom her favorite deity arose. [Laughter.]

If we can use the contingent fund, as we have, to reach Pago-Pago and its interesting converts to polygamous Christianity, why may we not extend an enterprising rule and roving into that land where Pericles ruled, Demosthenes spoke, Sophocles sung, and even Paul preached? Did we not last year, to gratify an Ohio member, appropriate thousands for a new survey of Judea? And, if so, why may not Mars Hill have its geologist and the Morea its photographs?

GREEK COMMERCE.

Gentlemen may tell us that we have no commerce with Greece, and therefore require no minister there. Gentlemen may say that our ships and clippers no longer plow the historic waves, rendered classic by the prows of Ulysses and the pinnaces of Agamemnon. True, our ship-building is a myth; but Greece is the land of myths. True, the decadence of our shipping calls for little or no men-of-war; but what an interesting study for our minister are the men of war who went out to take Troy forty-five hundred years ago and besought and besieged that city till the young men went west! But is it not a strong reason for the encouragement of our navigation? If we had our olden commerce, there would be no need of its fostering. We must have ancient Greece to teach us the art of navigation and revive our shipping!

By the latest returns up to September 30, 1875, for three months we had only two ships, with eight sailors apiece, which cleared for Greece. It is not recorded that they ever returned. But no matter for that. Let us encourage emigration. During the past fifty-five years, from 1821 to 1875, we had two hundred and eighty-three descendants of Epaninondas and Socrates come to our shores, being four persons and four-fifths of a person on an average per annum, distributed from Passamaquoddy to Paso del Norte. Now, when immigration is falling off, it is high time to reach out the hand to the heroes of Thermopylae and

Missolonghi. Let us bring to our shores the honored seions—thus gloriously quoted by Mr. Read, our minister, in his dispatch, to wit:

Mavrocordato, Kolokotronis, Botzaris, Capo d'Istria, and many more which long ago became household words in America, have now in Greece living illustrations in the second and third generations. These representatives of a glorious past pace to-day beneath the paintings which tell in graphic ways their ancestors' heroic story.

We can make Solons out of them when war does not summon them to its gory field!

I saw in the gallery remains of Greece in plaster of Paris. There was Demosthenes; and let me state here confidentially [laughter] that he bears a strong resemblance to my friend from Pennsylvania, [Mr. KELLEY.] [Laughter.] And now I come back to the House of Representatives I see that Greece is not dead; that she is still a living Greece, living in plaster of Paris right in the city of Washington.

I will go further. I think we ought to have a minister to all other obsolete and *blusé* places. Why not have a minister of the same rank at Herculaneum, at Pompeii, and at all those places to which we resort as a matter of course and curiosity?

Mr. SPRINGER. To Nineveh.

Mr. COX. Where?

Mr. SPRINGER. Nineveh.

Mr. COX. Yes, to Nineveh, perhaps the most eligible situation on the globe. [Laughter.] I would prefer a consul to Nineveh for certain reasons which I need not mention. [Renewed laughter.]

TRIPOLI, TURKEY, AND OUR MINISTER.

That reminds me of something I intended to discuss. I was saddened to read in these dispatches that our friend Mr. Maynard had been rather snubbed by the State Department because of a little matter to which I will briefly call the attention of the House. It is our duty here as well to protect our absent members as those present, just as my friend from Indiana [Mr. HOLMAN] protected Judge Bingham the other day in such an eloquent manner. I would protect Mr. Maynard from the harsh criticism passed upon him in one of these papers. How did the criticism upon him originate? I will tell you. There is a sort of hermaphrodite country called Tripoli; it does not know whether it is a part of Turkey or of Egypt or of Algiers or of the Desert of Sahara, which is soon to be flooded.

We have no minister there, but we have a consul-general, Mr. Vidal. Last year or year before last he wrote a dispatch, which was quoted in this House to show that our Protestant missionaries ought not to waste their time in Tripoli or in the territories of the *oi barbaroi* of the Greeks. He said the place for Protestant propagandism was in Bulgaria. The old New York Presbyterian Observer came out and read this consul a lesson. It said: "Why do you as a consul of the United States undertake to direct our missionary enterprises? What is that to you? Where do you get your power?" Mr. Vidal had urged that there were a great many slave-traders bringing slaves from Soudan and taking them to Constantinople and putting them in the harems of these bashaws of many tails. This brought Mr. Vidal into all sorts of trouble, and this book shows that he retired from his consulate and his companions to a little place remote from the city and near the sea. One day a Turkish sailor wended his way up to his kitchen to light his cigarette. Mr. Vidal, with that patriotism which becomes an American abroad, proud of his flag although it covers no commerce, rushed for that sailor and tripped him up. He had the spirit

of Decatur who cut out the Philadelphia from that port. But the sailor stood up to Vidal and a contest ensued. He rushed to Malta, appealed to Mr. Maynard, and Mr. Maynard appealed to Washington.

But I must be precise. Here is the reproof, which it hurts my heart to reproduce. On page 1316 of the diplomatic papers, "Mr. Fish to Mr. Maynard," under date of November 9, 1875, writes thus, and harshly:

This subject was fully discussed in my former dispatch, and I allude particularly to it in this connection in order that you may recognize its significance and the importance of being controlled in the settlement of this affair, and in all our negotiations connected therewith, *exclusively by our treaty with Tripoli.*

For these reasons it would have been better if, in your note to Safvet Pasha, you had not referred to our treaty with the Ottoman government as securing our consul against the indignity of proceedings against him by the local authorities for an alleged misdemeanor. The "most-favored nation" clause in our treaty with Tripoli secures to the United States consul all the rights and privileges accorded to the representatives of other foreign powers. Having appealed to our treaty with Tripoli, we cannot, in the settlement of this question, take our treaty with the Porte at all into consideration.

[Here the hammer fell.]

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Many MEMBERS. Go on! Go on!

The CHAIRMAN. If there be no objection, the time of the gentleman will be extended.

There was no objection.

Mr. COX. I thank the House for its indulgence. Mr. Maynard suited the Turkish mission better than any man I know. He had the grave, deliberate, and majestic manner which we are told by Théophile Gautier (in his volume on Constantinople, just issued, page 156) belongs to the Turk, who never hurries himself, except in the presence of death. How sad he must have been at the treatment which his first little effort at diplomacy received from the State Department, his first effort to put things into shape for this consulate that had no commerce to take care of and was always in trouble. I see him as he retires to the cemetery of Scutari. There, amid the grave-stones that are capped with the turban of Moslem, he sits amid the ashes of despair.

With all the propriety of deportment, he is sitting cross-legged sipping his Mocha and smoking his chibouk, until addressed by some bashaw of his acquaintance in these words: "How is it with you, my bashaw from Tennessee? Thou lookest sad to-day. What has gone amiss with thee, my brother?" "I have heard from the great mogul of New York, and he has blamed me for that which I have written, and I am unhappy therefor." "Turn your eyes up to these cypress-trees which weep with you, and with the dead near you; cast your eyes toward Mecca; bow your head with your fez cap three times, and you may be happy. Bishalla, go brag! Brother Maynard; Mahomet is his prophet. Be just unto all men; sin not. Write not home anything encouraging about radicalism or Ku-Klux; be honorable, be just, and you will be happy. Allah is great, and Mahomet is his prophet. Rememberest thou not that one star goeth around another star, and that a star with a long tail swishes around the sun and goes and comes at intervals; comes in and goes out like eternal day and eternal night? Let the star with the long tail spin! Allah is great, and Mahomet is his prophet." [Laughter.]

And thus our friend will be consoled.

HOW TO REVIVE COMMERCE.

Why, gentlemen, to end this speech and to end it at once, you cannot revive commerce by your petty, rascally consular system, as my

friend from Illinois [Mr. SPRINGER] has developed it to you to-day. You have to make a cause for it here. Commerce does not depend on consuls. Commerce depends on your laws, or rather the repeal of your laws. Take off your burdens; take off your taxes. Then commerce will come; and the great art of ship-building, now almost obsolete in this country, so that there is no more apprenticeship to it, will revive again, and with it the returns which commerce always gives to nations.

But we have other and greater elements than that of consular relations, connected with commerce. My friend from Ohio [Mr. GARFIELD] in his grand survey of the Pacific referred to them. We have the elements of steam and electricity, drawing nations closer together; Stephenson and Bessemer helping on land; Watt and Fulton on the sea; Morse everywhere. Why do they help commerce? They call attention to the source of supply from the source of demand and *vice versa*. In Chicago the price of grain in Liverpool and London is a matter of hourly intelligence. Why, sir, in Utica, New York, where there is a cheese exchange, every time a man brings a cheese into Utica he looks at the bulletin to see the price of gold or cheese in Liverpool. We are drawing the world together. Iron aided by steam, with its great arms, is breasting the mobile elements of the ocean while electricity is sending its message.

I can remember going, years ago when I was a boy, to the district of my honorable friend from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] to look at a new paper-machine there. It was the wonder of the time. My father had built the first paper-mill west of the Alleghany Mountains. He followed the old plan of making paper in molds, by vats. I worked as a paper-maker before I became a blacksmith or a Congressman. [Laughter.] I understood thoroughly that business. I went there and I saw that machine. By the old hand-process about one hundred pounds of paper was made per day; now a machine will turn out two thousand pounds in the same time. A machine will convert a stream of fluid pulp into paper, dry and polish it, and cut it into sheets; the time consumed in converting the pulp is two minutes—the old process was eight days. Steam, electricity, paper—newspapers and all—are to-day revolutionizing and reviving commerce. But for these elements all your consulates amount to nothing.

It is said by philosophers that the smallest atom—even an atom so small that Tyndall could not express it; an atom so small that it has no upper nor under side—it is said that even the tiny love drop in the bottom of the little Alpine flower down amid the glaciers has its effect upon the rings of Saturn, and perhaps upon some other “rings” that I need not mention in this community. [Laughter.] But whatever may be its effect, it is no more in the great forces of the universe as connected with our practical life than is your little consul in the revival of commerce, trade, and navigation.

The Hanseatic League made commerce without consuls. The Venetian argosies and the Dutch Indianan carried for and enriched their country without consuls. Transportation is the secret. It brings the prairie to the seaboard. It has made for us seventy-four thousand miles of railroads, with a gross receipt of five hundred millions. When it is rash and grasping, as in 1873, it made its tax on cereals to you of the West—at five cents a bushel, \$45,000,000.

Learn from England. Encourage iron and steam. Take off your great taxes and the multitude of them. Give encouragement to our people to sell abroad. The gentleman from New York [Mr. HEWITT] spoke about our cotton trade reviving. I know it is reviving to some

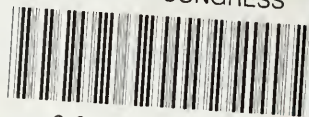
extent ; but last year \$75,000,000 worth of cotton was sold by England where we should have had the market. We are, it is true, selling some abroad now, and I hope we shall sell more. If our tariff bill passes, with the aid of steam, with the aid of electricity, with the aid of fair dealing, with a reconciled country North and South, East and West, and with the blessing of a centennial year, and divine goodness, we may have another kind of jubilee in which there will be an interdependence of men and nations and an independence among men from bad government everywhere on our star. [Applause.]







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